

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Trade Relations with the U.S.S.R.

The New York Times of March 19th carried a Duranty dispatch, reporting a front page headline in *Izvestia*, "Rumors about intention of the United States to recognize the Soviet Union." The rumors are based upon statements emanating from London reading about as follows:

"It is stated here that certain circles in Washington feel that recognition of Russia may establish an equilibrium of forces in the Far East." And then, if these rumors should be confirmed, the first step would be "the sending of a commission to Russia to discuss a trade agreement."

While this dispatch occupied a rather obscure place Walter Duranty is nevertheless known as one of those reporters who keeps his ear to the ground and is "wonderfully" well informed. It should not be understood in this case to mean actual possibilities of recognition. One need not put much credence in such rumors. But Duranty has proven his sagacity in representing the Stalin views as something entirely palatable to the capitalist interests and particularly to guard these interests in presenting the views. However, for the moment that is beside the point. Let us rather dwell for an instant upon the two questions of importance raised in the dispatch.

American Imperialist Aggression

1. The question of possible recognition to establish an equilibrium of forces in the Far East.

2. The question of steps following a possible recognition to discuss a trade agreement with the Soviet Union.

On the first proposition. Does the interest of the United States and of the Soviet Union in the Far East coincide, or even remotely suggest that sort of an equilibrium? Of course not. While both are opposed to Japanese aggression in China obviously it is because of entirely different reasons. The Soviet Union is opposed to Japanese imperialist aggression in China, not only because it may become a threat to its borders, but primarily because it is opposed to all imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union is the opponent of further partitioning in China and a friend and supporter of the revolutionary awakening, of the Chinese masses. This is not at all the case of the United States. As far as this most powerful and most reactionary imperialist power is concerned it has one main object in view in attempting to counterbalance the Japanese aggression in China; namely, to, as far as possible, reserve this field for its own ruthless advance to the exclusion of all others. It has its eye on a future Chinese market, in order to climb out of the crisis on the knuckles and bones of the Chinese workers.

It is with this aim in view that the United States endeavors to appear in the hypocritical role of the friend of China—as a "defender" of a defenceless nation. Once more it is attempting to extend its imperialist domain under the mask of being a champion of peace, while feverishly preparing its armed forces for war.

"With this enormous difference of policy in the Far East of the United States and of the Soviet Union, how much more hypocritical must sound the rumors of recognition as a means of an equilibrium of forces. It is therefore much more necessary to call out to the American workers, and to the American Communist in particular, not to fall into the trap set by the pacifist "defender" of defenceless nations. The official American Communist Party has been carrying on a campaign of demonstrations against Japanese imperialist aggression in China. Naturally Communists are opposed to, and should fight against, the Japanese partitioning of China and the suppression of her people. But above all American Communists must tear this deceptive pacifist mask of the American imperialist aggressor. It is well for us to remember that the most powerful and most reactionary imperialist enemy is at home.

The Question of Soviet Trade Relations

The second important question intimated in the Duranty dispatch is one of trade relations with the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly there are powerful American capitalist groups who turn their eyes toward the vast market in the Workers Republic; the same as there are powerful groups struggling against any relations whatever. In regard to the latter, we need only recall the recent demand made by a group of members of Congress for an embargo on all products of the Soviet Union. But to discuss this question it is necessary first of all to discard also in this instance any belief of possible overtures for trade relations as "peaceful overtures" even though they may here also carry the cover of a hypocritical mask of pacifism.

With the crisis growing in intensity it can be expected that the American imperialist will look for markets everywhere. Capitalism has no scruples. It will trade with the devil himself but will try to cheat him as all robbers do. In turning their eyes toward the Russian market these gentlemen do not for one minute fail to keep in mind their simultaneous effort to break down, if possible, its proletarian regime; to forge an armed ring around its borders. But

this is precisely one more reason why the American workers should not only recognize their common interest with their brothers of the Soviet Union but in a most effective way fight for the protection of these common interests. The Soviet Union is compelled to rely on trade with the capitalist world. It needs credits in an increasing measure to continue to build its industries.

Demand U. S. Credits to the Soviet Union

American trade with the Soviet Union grew rapidly up until the end of 1930. From a figure, both export and import included, of \$5,998,000 in 1923, to \$138,785,000 in 1930. Due to lack of credits from the United States this figure dropped in 1931 to a total of \$116,800,000. It stands to reason that only an extension of credits will again increase this figure.

Undoubtedly the first step for American workers to take to counter any mask of recognition as a cover for imperialist designs is to increasingly voice the demand, for extension of large scale credits to the Soviet Union. Recently the official Communist party has become compelled to accept the Left Opposition slogan for such credits. But so far only in half-hearted manner. It should be made a live slogan.

It could be made so if the party would set to work seriously and begin an active campaign. We could well conceive of the first steps being taken through the calling of conferences throughout the country of all workers organizations, specifically including the A. F. of L. unions, and to place the proposals before them to demand the extension of credits. With

OPEN FORUM

WHERE IS AMERICAN
SOCIALISM GOING?
The Socialist Party Convention and
Its Left Wing
Lecture by
MAX SHACHTMAN
on
FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1932
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
at 8 P. M.
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auspices: New York Branch Communist
League of America (Opposition)

unemployment pressing ever heavier upon the American workers, the prospect of increasing trade would be welcomed by them. A prospect of increasing trade with the Soviet Union, of American factories producing in increasing quantities for the Soviet market and of goods being shipped to help build the industry controlled by the workers there would have double effect here. It would powerfully emphasize the community of interests of the workers in both countries. It would thus also lay a more effective basis for actual working class defense of the Soviet Union in the present situation of ever growing war preparations. The Party should not delay in taking this step.

Stool-pigeon Discredited at Marine Trial

The trial of the three marine workers Plot, in process at General Sessions Court, reveals clearly the frame-up character of the case and its intent to break the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union. The prosecution is determined to embroil the union in alleged dynamiting and bombing activities. It is for this purpose that it has propped up as its main witness a shady individual by the name of Hoyle, a stool-pigeon who says he was a member of the Union and who has "confessed" to all sorts of fantastic accusations launched by the District Attorney.

Just to get a picture of the kind of evidence and witnesses the prosecution relies upon, it is significant to review the cross examination of this stool-pigeon by the defense. On the stand Hoyle confessed to breaking padlocks on the powder houses of the Trap Rock Co. He posed as a shrewd detective, hunting down dangerous criminals, yet admit doing the lion's share of the work of procuring the dynamite himself.

Upon the question of the defense attorney: "Did you know you were stealing dynamite?", he answered: "When I found out (!) that I was stealing dynamite, I made up my mind to follow it and see where it went." This in itself is enough to stigmatize the stool-pigeon.

Question by the defense attorney: "When you found out that Soderberg was after dynamite, did you then decide to

mislead him?"

Answer: Yes.

Question: "Did you notify the police?"

Answer: "No."

It must be remembered that the prosecution is building up its case exclusively on the evidence of this man. Upon further cross examination it was discovered that this same Hoyle was known in the army as a notorious liar and unreliable individual. On the stand Hoyle told and again contradicted himself as to his concepts of morality, etc. He told stories about a ride for dynamite in which persons participated whom he is unable to identify and whom the prosecution has never bothered to produce. The entire evidence of the stool-pigeon bore an indisputably shady character.

On Tuesday, April 5, Thomas Bunker, one of the defendants, took the stand, declared the whole "confession" of Hoyle a lie from beginning to end. Bunker said that he had not been at the time of the arrest of a member of any organization, but that he was a revolutionist and adhered to the necessity of changing the present system of society. As we go to press, Bunker is still under cross examination. A full report of the proceedings and the outcome of the trial will appear in *The Militant* next week. In the meantime money is urgently needed for the defense and all workers are requested to hurry with their contributions, care of the Marine Workers Defense Committee, 82 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

Open Letter to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R. -- by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

On the international arena, the situation was not much different. This Opposition fought in 1923 against the capitalist policies of Brandler who was supported on the Right by Stalin; against the Stalinist theory of worker-peasant parties; against the confinement of Chinese Communism within the iron cage of the Kuo Min Tang; against the bloc of the Politburo with the clique of British strike-breakers; against the whole opportunistic, ruinous, shameful, thoroughly treacherous policy of Stalin. who for several years supported the stirrup of Chiang Kai-Shek and exchanged portraits with him on the very eve of the day when Chiang Kai-Shek instituted the blood-bath of Shanghai. You yourselves are sufficiently acquainted with the facts and know that there is not a shadow of exaggeration in my words. It is not for nothing that the history of the Chinese revolution became a prohibited book in the Soviet Union: each page of it burns the fingers of the Stalinist clique.

Wherein does our "counter-revolutionary" activity lie? Among the hundreds of present day Stalinist theoreticians (hired by the day or by the piece) who squirm like worms in the wounds of the world proletariat, there are not a few volunteers willing to change white into black, or into any other color of the rainbow. They will not change historic facts, however, nor shake the foundations of Marxism. The Left Opposition has the right to be proud of its struggle against the Stalinist faction in the U. S. S. R., in Germany, in China, in England, in all parts of the world reached by the hand of the opportunistic apparatus.

Knocking its forehead against the kulak; deceived in its calculations on friend Chiang Kai-Shek; receiving in-

stead of gratitude, a kick from the British trade-unionists, who were rescued by the Stalinist bureaucracy made in 1928, a whirlwind turn of 180 degrees over our heads, only to plunge into a monstrous economic and political adventurism, the accounts of which are still to be settled.

And again the Left Oppositionists—the true and only Bolshevik-Leninists in the ranks of the international proletariat!—quickly and decisively came out against the bureaucratic adventurism that is armed with the resources of the workers' government. We warned against the irresponsible conversion of the five year plan into a four-year-one. Our warning has been fully confirmed. The artificial race, not prepared either theoretically, or practically, not only made it impossible to solve this rather sporting than economic problem, but deepened a series of disproportions which are now, in a purely mechanical fashion, driven into the foundation of the second five year plan. The Opposition warned against the hazardous playing with "complete collectivization" and with the idea "of the liquidation of classes" within the period of the first five year plan. Now "complete collectivization" is halted and "the liquidation of classes" during two or three intermediate stages is transferred to the new five year plan. Also in this form the problem remains a bureaucratic utopia. As a result of forced collectivization and the violation of basic economic proportions, the extremely difficult food and the general material conditions of the working class, remain, unfortunately, a reality.

The working class of Russia has the right to be proud of the truly great technical achievements accomplished within the last few years. These achievements became possible only after the pressure of realities forced the bureau-

Miners Resist New Onslaught

Unification of Rebel Movements Urgent Duty of Revolutionary Party

The insurgent strike of the anthracite coal miners of Districts number 1 and 9 has collapsed. The men who came out are again back at work, with no gains made, browbeaten into submission by the unholy trinity of the coal operators, the U. M. W. officials and the Pennsylvania state police. Those who have been picked as the victims and blacklisted, as a punishment for the insurgency, remain locked out. The thousands of unemployed who joined in the movement are left to shift for themselves and face the continued misery of starvation.

This strike brought out all the deep seated discontent coupled with the sterling spirit of rebellion which is saturating the mine fields. But the conscious expression and conscious direction required to face the overwhelming odds was not yet at hand. The strike was entirely spontaneous in character, its program and objective not clearly defined and its leadership did not in the least rise above that level. Therefore, while the beating back of this insurgent movement, obviously records another working class defeat, it is nevertheless one of these defeats harboring lessons which can become a preparation for future success.

The leaders of this strike were not at all conscious Left wingers, not to speak of being revolutionist. But they found themselves in conflict with the degenerated, corrupt union bureaucrats, and pressed forward by a membership chafing under growing exploitation. In that sense they expressed the rebellion of the rank and file. How ruthlessly the capitalist owners of industry proceed to break down any resistance, incipient or consciously expressed, is testified to by the fact that five of these strike leaders, undoubtedly with many rank and file members suffering the same fate, were blacklisted and dismissed by the companies immediately upon the return to work. And, of course, in the trial for murder of the Harlan, Ky. strikers is yet more eloquent and more brutal testimony for those who may still have doubts.

Strikes Growing in Other Fields

Badly scattered and isolated within local fields as the miners struggles now are, and have been for quite a long time, their fighting spirit nevertheless remains undaunted. In this we have again a picture of what has been repeated so often before. While the anthracite insurgent strike suffered its set-back, new strikes are developing and growing elsewhere. In that part of the central competitive field embracing Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and at a few other points, approximately 75,000 miners went on strike on April first. It has been characterized by operators and U. M. W. officials alike as a sort of a truce rather than a strike. In many respects that is true. The operators insist upon a drastic wage reduction. This the miners are dead set against and ready to fight against, so much so, that the officials have not as yet dared to enter into a wage cut agreement and are therefore biding their

time, hoping for better prospects to remain true to their role of being capitalist agents in the workers' ranks.

The "truce" as could be expected remains only so long that it benefits the operators. In Indiana, for example, it has already, at the time of this writing, been broken. The operators have issued an ultimatum to the miners and are attempting to operate with strike breakers. It is backed up by the promise of the governor of the state to have troops in readiness. Once more this verifies our contention that the capitalist exploiters can always rely upon the service of the government and its armed forces against the workers; whether or not they strike in the name of their official union or through an insurgent movement.

Serious clashes have already resulted in Indiana and likewise in Ohio. Scabs have suffered in the determined picketing of the striking miners not even protected by the tear gas bombs used by sheriffs' forces. It is therefore clear that this situation may hold very serious tests in store both in regard to the actual power of resistance of the rank and file miners and their ability to circumvent the officials' slimy maneuvers to accommodate the operators.

Can the Isolated Movements Be United?

A look at the mine fields today proves how complete the discarding of destructiveness has been of the break-up and partitioning of the United Mine Workers by its corrupt officials. It has long ago ceased to be a nationally fighting unit. But should it remain so? That is the most important question. When viewing the latest isolated and localized strikes much food for thought is available for those workers who are ready to do some

serious thinking. And it is to those that we particularly address ourselves. Over a period of more than a year the miners have developed serious resistance to the capitalist onslaughts. The militancy displayed parallels their history of the past. This was manifested alike in the Pennsylvania-Ohio strikes last year of the N. M. U., in the anthracite insurgent strike, in the West Virginia strike, led by the Mustette progressive and in the Kentucky miners strikes. It is developing in this present strike. All of them remained localized and isolated without any efforts to unite them into one movement. The official party leadership in its conduct of mine strike policy is not at all exempt from this castigation. And yet, in this lies the real problem which is becoming an ever more pressing one. For effective resistance against the operators and for a serious fight against their servile tools holding office in the U. M. W., the unification of these scattered movements developing from different directions but essentially striving toward the same objective is the first command.

What Should the National Miners Union Do?

What can so far be expected from the official party leadership is indicated in the recent National Miners Union convention. There is no trace of measures being taken toward this essential unification. It is reported that this convention was put through the gymnastics of the usual "searching self-criticism." It discovered again the many weaknesses of "underestimation" and "shortcomings"—of the rank and file, of course (!!)—which it summed up in "insufficient conduct" (Continued on page 3)

Hitler Scoffs at Threat to «Outlaw» Nazis

The press this week reports an intended ban of the National Socialist organizations on the basis of the documents seized during the raids on Nazi headquarters in Prussia, some three weeks ago. It is significant that the rumors emanate from the Prussian ministry of the interior and not from the federal government. All that is possibly true in these rumors is the fact that the social democratic workers are bringing pressure upon the socialist Severing who heads the Prussian ministry of the Interior. So far Severing has only resorted to strong phrases. The federal government remains non-committal and Severing will not by himself act without the consent of the Bruening administration.

The documents seized reveal, however, broadly and precisely outlined plans on part of the Fascists for the seizure of power.

"Among the instructions to local Nazi chieftains," says the *New York Times* report, "was a document calling for the names of the police, municipal officials, pastors, public school teachers, leading

Freemasons and prominent Jews. Other documents contained mobilization plans calling for data on airports, their crews and the number and type of planes . . . What most sorely tried the patience of Herr Severing was the recurring reference in the confiscated documents to the equipment and personnel of the Prussian police and the location of their stores of arms and ammunition, as well as to the measures prescribed for safeguarding the railway service."

This is enough to indicate with what thoroughness and how seriously the Fascists are preparing for the seizure of power with the aid of army and police officials. To the news that these documents were published and that a ban against his organizations is being planned, Hitler has replied very briefly: "Bah! Piffle!"

Hitler knows very well that he has nothing to fear in so far as the interference of the bourgeois government is concerned. He knows that he already has important positions in the administrative apparatus. What Hitler does fear is united action on part of the working class. He knows that a united front of the working class movement alone would strike fear into the hearts of his following. That is why he is proceeding so carefully.

Hitler's strategy at the present moment is concentrated on getting some measure of popular success with which to prop up the morale of his heterogeneous following for a decisive blow. That is one of the reasons for his "legalistic" policy. He is hoping for a sort of parliamentary victory in the Prussian elections as the proper moment to strike. It is most likely that he will continue along this line until the elections to the Prussian Diet next month. This is the element of greatest value in the present social struggle in Germany. The Fascist leaders are well aware of this.

The official party has appreciably modified its position of "strategic retreat" before Fascism. To a great extent, this has taken place under the pressure of the criticism of the Left Opposition. A further change along the same line is absolutely necessary. The united front of all workers' organizations in the fight against Fascism is imperative. No time is to be lost. The enemy is at the gates of the German proletariat. Stalinist confusionism must be brushed aside, if the proletariat of Germany and with it, the working class of the entire world, is not to suffer a defeat, the disastrous consequences of which can hardly be calculated in advance.

NEW YORK AFFAIR

HELP DEFEND
the Marine Workers
Now on Trial
Dance and Entertainment
GOOD PROGRAM
GOOD REFRESHMENTS
DANCING
Saturday Evening, April 9th, at 8 P. M.
at 84 East 10th Street
Auspices: Communist League of America
(Opposition) New York branch

(Continued on page 2)

Open Letter to the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 1)

ship of Stalin independent of the apparatus. Now to pledge loyalty to the "Leninist Central Committee" would mean the same as openly to raise the banner of rebellion. The only acceptable formula of loyalty is an oath to the name of Stalin. Orator, propagandist, journalist, theoretician, pedagogue, sportsman—must include in his speech, article, or lecture, the phrase of the infallibility of the policy of the Central Committee "under the leadership of Stalin" which means of the infallibility of Stalin riding astride the Central Committee. This means that every party member and Soviet employee, from the president of the Council of Peoples' Commissars to a modest provincial clerk, must give openly, before the whole country an oath to the effect that in case of disagreement between the Central Committee and Stalin, he, the undersigned, will support Stalin against the C. C. To this level are now practically reduced the by-laws of the party and the Soviet constitution.

This sort of thing is going further and further. The official anniversary article on the Red Army (February 23) states that the "Communist Party" with its Leninist Central Committee headed by comrade Stalin is the leader of all the armed forces of the Soviet Union. This means that the Red Army is called upon to be loyal to the Soviets of the working masses, to the proletariat and its vanguard as long as Stalin will remain "at the head" of the party. This means that on the day when the party will no longer desire this costly leadership, the Red Army will have to support Stalin against the party. There can be no other meaning in the oath to the name of Stalin. This is a new stage in a systematic, planned, persistent preparation of bonapartism. Re-read history!

When you started the struggle within the party under the name of the struggle against "Trotskyism", you formed within the official Politburo a secret Politburo, or "the seven"—against me. You had your secret meetings, your discipline secret from the party, your secret code for communications with agents of the conspiracy in the provinces. The baiting of Trotsky and of "Trotskyism" went parallel with the stifling of the party's independence; one and the other were equally necessary for the triumph of bureaucracy.

Now similar work, although in caricatured, bonapartist form, is being performed on a new historic stage. Doubtlessly the narrow faction of Stalin has its own secret staff, its slogans and pass-words its agents and its codes; the conspiracy against the apparatus is pushed full speed ahead, while the apparatus is still in conspiracy against the party. The despotism of Stalin undermined from below hastens to assume ever more finished forms from above.

The party threatens to intervene in the conflict which has started between Stalin and the apparatus. It must intervene, lest the class enemy intervene. To help the party intervene powerfully is the aim of the Left Opposition. Of this very thing Stalin is in mortal fear. He wants to strangle the party completely before he settles with the apparatus. That is why the XVIII party conference was treated to a new campaign against "Trotskyism". That is why this conference was transformed into a roll-call of those loyal to Stalin. And that is why it was necessary to complete the conference by your decision of February 20th. The meaning of this policy is, that each new blow at the party is inseparable from a blow to "Trotskyism". In this lies the strength of the Opposition. In this lies the doom of Stalin.

You long ago substituted for inner-party democracy, "self-criticism". In the beginning it meant that one may criticize any one outside of the Central Committee. Later it means that one may criticize only those whom the C. C. orders to be criticized. Now it means that one may criticize any one but Stalin and must bait any member of the C. C. who does not swear by the name of Stalin. Above the party, above the apparatus, above criticism—stands Stalin. The law of his infallibility takes on a retroactive character. The history of the party is rebuilt around the Stalinist infallibility as around a new axis. Any one who has not succeeded in re-arming himself, inevitably falls under the knife.

It was found necessary to turn a revolutionary party which bases itself on a scientific doctrine and a great tradition into a temple where Kaganovich, in the role of high priest, burns incense to the idol of eternal perfection. All that is lacking to complete the system is that the dogma of the immaculate conception be added to the dogma of infallibility.

Can there be anything more malignant, more debased and shameful than the introduction of supermonarchical authority into the party of the proletariat. Perhaps you do not know where it leads to: Re-read history. The dogma of lifetime infallibility is the most unquestionable, the most shameful expression

of the fact that Stalin's management is in irreconcilable contradiction with the economic, political and cultural development of Soviet democracy, and—that is no less important—with the historical problems of the world proletarian vanguard.

Just think of it, only after one decade and a half since the October revolution there stands at the head of the Comintern, Manuisky. You know this person no less than I do. None of us over took him seriously. During all critical moments he vacillated, was confused and retreated; always and ever he sought a master. In 1918 he declared in print that Trotsky saved Bolshevism from national limitedness. In 1923, once more in print, he called Lenin and Trotsky the creators of the theory and practice of the Communist International. You will say that he was motivated by personal reasons? I will not dispute it. But in that case he miscalculated. "The three" gave Manuisky an ultimatum: either to start a campaign against Rakovsky who was universally respected, or to be crushed. You know Manuisky: he chose the first. And now, frightful to think: Manuisky is the leader of the Comintern!

The strategy of Marx and Lenin, the historical experience of Bolshevism, the great lessons of 1917—everything is distorted, maimed, slandered. Yesterday's mistakes of the bureaucracy are not disclosed and not refuted, are transformed into an obligatory tradition and on each turn of the road serve as traps and pitfalls. The leadership of the Comintern has become an organized sabotage of the international proletarian revolution. Its crimes are countless. And now before your very eyes is being prepared the most terrible of them all.

The theory of social Fascism in which the ignorance of Stalin is coupled with the irresponsibility of Manuisky has become a noose around the neck of the German proletariat. Under the whip of the Stalinist clique the miserable, confused, frightened, terrified C. C. of the German Communist Party helps with all its might—cannot but help—the leaders of the German social democracy to betray the German working class for crucifixion by Hitler.

And do you think that the forged scrap of paper of February 20th will stop the developments of Bolshevik criticism? Stop us from the fulfillment of our duty? Frighten our adherents?

Already in not less than twenty countries there are cadres of Bolsheviks who by right feel themselves to be the continuators of the Marxian tradition, of the school of Lenin, of the commandments of the October revolution. You will not shut them up!

Of course, Stalin has not had his last practical say. The arsenal of his means is known: Lenin weighed them and characterized them. But these means can now suffice only for personal revenge. The blows at the old intransigent fighter Rakovsky, the shooting of the "traitor" Blumkin and his substitution by the real Stalinist Agabekoff, the shooting at Bolsheviks interned in the solitaires, the small, very modest and unnoticeable aid to class enemies against a revolutionary opponent,—for this the Stalinist arsenal will yet suffice. But not more than for this!

You know Stalin no less than I do. Many of you, in conversations with me or with persons near to me, evaluated Stalin more than once and without illusions. The strength of Stalin was always, not in himself but in the apparatus; or in himself in so far as he remained the complete incorporation of bureaucratic automatism. Separated from the apparatus, counterposed to the apparatus—Stalin is but an empty space. The man who was yesterday the symbol of bureaucratic power, will be tomorrow in the eyes of all the symbol of bureaucratic bankruptcy. It is time to do away with the Stalinist myth. It is necessary to entrust oneself to the working class and its real, not fake party.

Read again the resolutions of the plenums of the Central Committee for the years 1926 and 1927, read again the statements of the Opposition, you have a fuller set of documents than I have. And you will be convinced again that the whole evolution of the party, of the apparatus, of the Stalinist clique were foretold by us, all the milestones were indicated before. The decomposition of the Stalinist system accuses with the exact observance of the manner indicated by the Opposition. Do you want to follow this road further? But there is no road further. Stalin has brought you to an impasse. You cannot come out on the road without liquidating Stalinism. You must trust to the working class, give the proletarian vanguard the possibility, through free criticism from top to bottom, to review the whole Soviet system and pitilessly cleanse it of the accumulated rubbish. It is time, finally, to fulfill the last urgent advice of Lenin: to remove Stalin.

In the work of the regeneration of the party and of Soviet democracy the Left Opposition is ready to take a direct part at any time. It can be trusted. It represents a selection of revolutionists, wholeheartedly devoted to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a priceless haven for the crushed, torn party, undermined from the top by careerism and servility.

Great problems are again being placed by history on the order of the day: in the Far East and especially in the centre of Europe, in Germany. When measures of great policy are needed Stalin fancies with petty police measures. The Opposition will step over the decision of February 20th as a worker on the way to work steps over a mud puddle.

Bolshevik-Leninists, forward! Prinkipo, March 1, 1932

—L. TROTSKY.

Opposition Branch Formed In Newark

Several weeks ago a branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) was organized in Newark, N. J. The branch is rather small, having only six members at the present time, but there is a growing sentiment for the Left Opposition among the Party members and the Communist sympathizers. This fact was amply demonstrated the first lecture arranged by the branch on Sunday afternoon, March 27th, at the Workers' Home, 37-16th Ave. A crowd of forty men and women gave their closest attention to the lecture, delivered by comrade Basky on the World Situation, the Problems and Tasks of the Communist Movement. The speaker gave a historical sketch of the origins and development of the Left Opposition since 1923 up to the present time, counterposing the Marxian program of the Left Opposition to the opportunist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

A large number of questions were answered by the speaker with such an effect that some of the Party sympathizers made a statement that they came to the meeting with a hostile feeling to the Opposition but their feelings were quite reversed. After the meeting some of them declared their intention of joining the branch.

The lecture was followed by a meeting of the branch and a program was decided upon for further activity including a systematic sale of *The Militant*, and literature of the Left Opposition, a series of open air meetings during the summer, arrangements for other indoor lectures. A still more elaborate program is contemplated by the branch for the fall season, including the organization of an open forum.

Free Speech in the Party?

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Daily Worker Readers' Forum conducted by the Communist party each Sunday afternoon deserves honorable mention in permitting a hitherto unprecedented step forward in the form of democratic discussion, since the expulsion of the Left Opposition more than three years ago.

Militant Drive Yields Results

It is possible now to say that the drive is yielding results. It is enough to compare last week's standing with this week's report to see what a leap forward the drive has taken. To enable everyone to make this comparison easily we give below both figures. The figure immediately following the city is last week's figure, the second figure is this week's:

New York, last week—17, this week—26; Minneapolis—5-16; Chicago—3-7; Boston—4-14; St. Louis—1-1; Newark 1-1; Philadelphia—1-1; Montreal—0-1; Miscellaneous—12-15.

The drive seems to be developing into a contest between the New York and Minneapolis branches. Our other branches should not permit them to make it a contest between themselves but should make strenuous efforts to overcome their lead.

They can take a leaf from our Minneapolis branch. Comrade Coover in reporting eleven subs, says: "Minneapolis is off to a start on the drive and the other branches are going to have to step on it from now on or take a rubbing and this goes for the New York branch as well as the others. The score at the close of March is as follows: (each \$1 for subs counts as one point; 50c as a 1-2 point, etc.) Team 1: Myles B. Dunne, Capt.—Fannie Barach—6 1-2 points; V. Dunne—6 points; Sam Lessin—2 1-2 points; Chester Johnson—21-2 points; total for Team 1 on March 31st—17 1-2 points; Team 2: William Curran, Capt.—Carl Cowl—4 points; Carl Skoglund—2 points; Sam Zalmanoff—2 points O. Coover—1 point; Total for Team 2 on March 31st—9 1-2 points.

"Myles Dunne's Team 1 evened the score with the captain of Team 2. Wm. Curran, when they induced one of the Team 2 members to turn over to a member of Team 1 money collected for a sub; and then to add insult to injury they outdistanced us during the first month of the sub drive by 8 points. All the Team 2 members swear vengeance and some of our heavy hitters are going to do some batting during the month of April. So Team 1 had better watch their step. Up to April 1st the total points scored by the Minneapolis branch is 17. Watch out New York! We are after you."

This is the spirit, Minneapolis. New York is on its toes, hitting on all six. It's ready to take on all challenges. It rerets that it can't be in on that banquet to be given by the losing team at the close of the drive. It means to come out on top of the heap on June 1st.

Sub getters can take a tip from a subscriber from Wauwun, Minn., who in taking advantage of the combined rate of \$2. for a year's subscription to both *The Militant* and *Young Spartacus*, writes: "Times continue very hard out here but one must have *The Militant* and it is hard to pass up a bargain like the present one in the drive." A word to the wise is sufficient.

Another encouraging sign is the increased number of 25c subs for 8 issues. Almost any worker who is not totally unemployed can afford a quarter for eight issues, especially now when interest in Germany is so keen and we are running extracts from comrade Trotsky's latest work on Germany—"What Next?". This is, of course, as good an inducement

The question under discussion last week was that of the war danger. The point of view of the official party was expressed by Norman Bersnick. Comrade Avrin, of the Left Opposition took issue with the speaker stressing the danger to the revolutionary vanguard and the U. S. S. R. emanating from the threat of a Fascist Germany. Comrade Avrin was given the floor three times during the discussion to present the point of view of the Left Opposition before the 300 workers who attended the forum.

This is a step forward in the development of a basis for clarification in the ranks of the party members and sympathizers on the differences between the Stalin faction and the Left Opposition under comrade Trotsky. We hope this form of clarification becomes a part of general party policy, because it is only in this way, in viewing and discussing the differences openly before the party that real clarity and cohesion can be obtained and training provided for firm revolutionary fighters.

—S. A.

Trotsky Meeting in Duluth

DULUTH, MINN.

In spite of definite threats of a "broken head if he speaks Friday on Trotsky", comrade Sam Bloomberg, well-known party member and a figure in the Winnipeg General Strikes of 1919, addressed a mass meeting of over 150 attentive workers Friday night in Moose Temple on the "Truth About Trotsky", thus breaking through a ring of slander and intrigue maintained by the Stalinists against the Left Opposition for over two years since the occasion when comrade Shachtman last spoke here. The meeting marks a forward step for the Opposition in a city having a militant class-struggle tradition like Duluth.

It was originally scheduled to be held at Candel Hall. But since that hall is also rented on a monthly basis by the Stalinists, the management was pressed into refusing to allow the hall for a Trotsky meeting. As is to be expected, this bureaucratic attempt to suppress the meeting aroused determination on the part of the workers to hear the point of view of the Left Opposition, and, in spite of a blizzard, made our meeting successful. A few party members and a number of T. U. U. L., F. S. U., I. W.

O. and ex-Party members were present, in spite of the party decision to boycott the meeting.

Comrade O'Rourke, the chairman, who is an old Duluth militant, a R. R. engineer, opened the meeting and introduced comrade Bloomberg. In an hour and a quarter speech, marked by brilliant analysis and conviction, Bloomberg told the story of Trotsky and the Left Opposition, the alleged "differences" with Lenin from 1903 on, the theory of socialism in one country, the role of the Left Opposition in bringing the Communist movement back on the base of Marxism-Leninism. "For years I was prejudiced and poisoned against the Left Opposition by the Stalinite press. It took me two years of study and practical observation to convince me that Trotsky is right and that the hope of the international Communist movement rests in the success of the Left Opposition." Bloomberg's declaration was well received.

O'Rourke then, introduced comrade Carl Cowl, the secretary of the Minneapolis branch of the Communist League, who spoke on "Why the Centrist Bureaucracy Defeated the Left Opposition". Citing the defeats of the proletariat in Bulgaria (1923), Germany (1923) Estonia (1924) Great Britain (1926) China (1927) and the stabilization of capitalism connected with these catastrophes, together with the weariness engendered in the Russian proletariat after the heroic straining of forces in the years of the revolution and civil war, Cowl explained the new confidence placed in the petty bourgeois strata of the city and village and in the bourgeois elements of the state bureaucracy who gained considerable strength on the basis of the N. E. P. The centrist apparatus, supporting itself on these elements and exploiting the passivity of the proletariat, crushed the Left, revolutionary wing of the Party and revised the principles of Marxism-Leninism. He depicted the lying and disloyal campaign used to poison the minds of the party members. It is necessary to combat their lies with the truth, their disloyalty by comradely methods, their irresponsibility before the working class by serious work. He called on every member of the audience to hear the other side of the question by reading and subscribing to *The Militant* and *Unser Kampf* and *Young Spartacus* and the pamphlets on specific problems before the world working class. Further, those workers who are in agreement with the principles and aims of the Left Opposition, should not hesitate, but should join our ranks and help our cause.

Comrade Carl Skoglund, member of the National Committee of the Communist League, then took the floor on the German elections and gave an analysis of the dangerous and compromising position the Stalinists were leading the German party into. He explained precisely what Fascism is and the stupidity of the slogan: After Fascism—the Workers Dictatorship, which betrays and disarms the German working class in the primary struggle against Fascism. He revealed the figures in the recent elections and exposed the false analysis of "victory" for the Communists who gained a few hundred thousand votes as compared to six million of the Fascists. The German question will not be solved in the elections or in parliament, he said, but in the class struggle, and finally by the united forces of the proletariat against the reaction.

The speakers were harassed with questions and discussion, a few Stalinites adding to the interest of the meeting by raising the old chestnuts about writing in the capitalist press, aiding Bruening and others, some of which actually brought laughter from the audience. There were some serious statements of support together with a recount of a number of incidents in Duluth illustrating wrong party tactics, leading to lack of confidence and disrespect and finally isolation from the workers.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF THE MILITANT published weekly at New York, N. Y. for April 1, 1932.

State of New York ss

County of New York ss

Before me, a resident in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Arne Swaback, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE MILITANT and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher: The Communist League of America (Opposition) New York, N. Y. Editor: Max Shachtman Managing Editor: Max Shachtman Business Manager: Arne Swaback Post Office Address: 84 East 10th St., New York City, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The Communist League of America (Opposition); 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Martin Abern, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; James P. Cannon, 84

\$10.50 worth of literature was sold, and there was a substantial collection. Three subs were gotten and two new members joined the League. Workers, after the meeting, expressed amazement that they could have been so deceived by the Party press and asked for more such meetings. With the present program of adventurism of the party continuing in force, there is every possibility of building a good branch in Duluth which will be able to help restore the confidence and support of the working class in Communism.

—C. C.

The Struggle Around the Volkszeitung

For some time now, a fierce struggle has been going for the control of the New York *Volkszeitung*, long established as a working class paper in the German language and at one time a Communist organ. In this struggle, it now appears, the yellow socialists are definitely gaining the upper hand. The editorship is in the hands of a "socialist" of doubtful repute, the policies are at one with those of the treacherous social democratic press in Germany.

The opposition to the socialists is offered by members of the former Lore organization, the "Verband Internationaler Arbeiter". There appear to be among this opposition not a few honest revolutionary workers who feel the disgrace that has fallen upon the *Volkszeitung* rather keenly. And yet it is precisely the obstinate centrist policy of Lore, the illusions be created about a middle road between Communism and social democracy that is most heavily responsible for this condition. The Left Opposition long ago exposed this deceptive policy and warned in time that it could only lead to abject surrender before the reformists. By cutting his revolutionary followers off from the current of Communism, by wiping out the fundamental and unbridgeable differences between the Communists and the reformists, by vacillating between the two in an attempt to exploit the "shortcomings" of each for centrist ends, Lore merely prepared the ground for the domination of the fakers.

This is a lesson worth while learning. The "logic" of the centrist position is here proven in practice. The honest, sincere workers in the *Volkszeitung* opposition will no doubt draw their conclusions from it. Their's is the task now to find the road back to Communism. It is their first duty not to stop with the attack on the shameful pro-Hindenburg articles of the *Volkszeitung* but to view the implications of the entire German situation today and to make clear for themselves as to which of the Communist currents represents the true needs of the working class. In this, the Left Opposition is ready to give them all the aid at its disposal. It will follow the developments more closely in coming issues of *The Militant*.

Attention Y.C.L.-er!

To a Member of the Y. C. L. in Brownsville:

We have received a letter from a member of the Young Communist League in Brooklyn, N. Y., which we are requested to print in the *Militant*. The content of the letter is a criticism of some of the activities of the Y. C. L. Although we have no objection to printing letters from readers of the *Militant*, nevertheless we cannot print letters without knowing the identity of the individual who has written the letter. We will of course upon the request of the writer withhold publication of the name, but in order to have a guarantee of the accuracy of the facts and the genuineness of the document we must be informed of the identity of the correspondent. Will the author of the above mentioned letter please communicate with us.

East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Max Shachtman 84 East 10th St. New York, be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owing or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names N. Y. Maurice Spector, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Arne Swaback, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owing or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

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ARNE SWABACK, Business Manager Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March 1932.

G. M. LORCH, Notary Public (My commission expires March 30, 1933)

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

German Opposition Shows the Way A Letter from Czechoslovakia

Communists of Bruchsal Apply Genuine Leninist United Front Tactic

In the town of Bruchsal, the local group of the German Left Opposition is the only Communist organization. Free from the stranglehold of Stalinism and its disastrous policies, our Bruchsal comrades have been able to carry on the work of the Communist party on their own initiative. Equipped with the Leninist orientation of the International Left Opposition and intent on putting it into practice, the Bruchsal Oppositionists have succeeded in establishing a successful united front of all the local proletarian mass organizations in the fight against Fascism. On the basis of their correct policy and action, they have succeeded in increasing the ranks of Communism one hundred per cent within the last few weeks, gaining in membership and founding new groups of the Left Opposition in the immediate vicinity, raising Communist influence in the local working class into a factor to be reckoned with.

Our Bruchsal comrades are carrying on their struggle with all forces at their disposal. This is in itself important work. But even more important is the example they have shown for our German party as a whole: the example of actual Leninist mass work in the struggle for the majority of the proletariat and the defeat of Fascism. In the present social ferment in Germany, the work of the Bruchsal Oppositionists stands out as a light house illuminating the Bolshevik solution.

We bring below a report of the progress of the Bruchsal Left Opposition.—Ed.

The C. P. G. in Forst Joins the L. O.

Due to the influence of the Left Opposition, the local organization of the C. P. G. in the town of Forst has placed itself on the positions of the Left Opposition. As old comrades, the Communists of Forst have not been able to allow all that they have previously learned from the C. P. G. to be called counter-revolutionary. They have decided to fight side by side with the Left Opposition against the false course of the C. P. G., to defend the heritage of Lenin with us.

In view of the present political chaos, the comrades in Forst attempted to form the united front with the social democratic workers according to the Bruchsal example. Unfortunately, it has up to now only remained an attempt, because the S. P. G. workers have in the meantime received instructions from the S. P. G. bureaucracy to create the "iron front." For this reason, the S. P. G. functionaries in Forst informed us, the matter of the united front will have to be postponed until after the presidential elections. All this only shows how strong the hold of the bureaucracy on the social democratic workers still is. In spite of this, we will not rest, as sincere and convinced Communists, until we have opened the eyes of the very last social democratic worker to the criminal actions of his leaders.

How the Party Bureaucracy "Liquidates" the L. O. in Bruchsal

For several weeks, the party bureaucracy has attempted with all possible means to gain a foothold in Bruchsal, in order to smash the Opposition movement.

Miners

(Continued from page 1)

tact with the field." One may ask, "Where was the contact if not with the field?" This is about on a par with the party leadership's attitude to the anthracite insurgent strike. In that vital situation it could only find the insufficiency of the demand for "equalization of work." How futile is such analysis when one views the broad sweeps of the many almost simultaneous, isolated rebel movements which the party leadership could not see, or refused to see.

The convention adopted the slogan "face to the field." Essential as this is, it still leaves that main problem of unification entirely out of account. This is the real need of the movement for which the revolutionary party is first of all called upon to advance a solution.

The objective situation in the mine fields is ever more richly providing the material ready to hand. Would it not be a simple measure, entirely in accord with the duty of a revolutionary party, utilizing the National Miners Union as the medium, to approach the rebelling miners everywhere, through their local organizations, through their insurgent groups, to the rank and file direct as well as to their accepted leaders and to their imposed leaders, and seriously demand that in the common interests of all miners steps should be taken for a united front against the common enemy? Would that not be the most effective way to defeat the designs of the imposed leader, the corrupt office holders, as well as to clearly bring out the weakness and insufficiency of the timid and opportunist progressives? Would it not be hailed by the miners as a serious step toward establishing a new national unity of their ranks.

While the U. M. W. is broken up and scattered in a localized existence, it has not disappeared. A serious united front movement must also proceed by building a Left wing movement within it.

At first they tried to allow us to cooperate in the Red United Front organs. But when the Karlsruhe comrades of the Red United Front wanted to call upon the Bruchsal comrades to speak as reporters before the meetings of the unemployed, the bureaucracy put its foot down and forbade this. They are now attempting to approach the Bruchsal organization by means of the International Labor Defense. The Bruchsal comrades declared their readiness to build up a branch of the I. L. D., on condition that they receive a written guarantee that Opposition comrades will enjoy the same rights within it as all the other comrades. For better or worse, the party bureaucracy had to consent to this. Although we have declared ourselves prepared to begin this work, the bureaucracy does not as yet seem to be satisfied. It has sought out several comrades in Bruchsal to undertake the shameful labors of destroying the Bruchsal group of the Opposition. But what these comrades have done up to now has only turned to the discredit of the C. P. G. They only proved before the Bruchsal workers the correctness of the Left Opposition policy.

In a meeting of the unemployed in Bruchsal, to which these half-baked party comrades invited a speaker from Karlsruhe, these comrades made the proposal that a party comrade be allowed to speak besides the reporter of the Left Opposition, and demanded that their proposal be voted on. Through this stupid manner of action, they only got themselves an overwhelming defeat. The meeting of the unemployed, with an attendance of 500 workers, decided against 3 votes, to reject the proposal. It is by such methods that the party attempts to win over the masses in Bruchsal.

In the Communist *Arbeiterzeitung* of February 4, they published an article in which they call the Bruchsal comrades renegades. We are also accused of glorifying the counter-revolutionary Trotsky and of still maintaining the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theory of Trotsky and the impossibility of building socialism in one country. We are, they say further, telling fairy tales when we insist that thousands of Opposition comrades are confined in jails in Russia and solitary, who have taken part in the Red October and that the Stalinist bureaucracy does not even shrink from shooting them. All these contentions are merely calumnies against the C. P. G. Another of our crimes consists in the establishment of a united front with the S. P. G. and trade union workers. This is enough to give a picture of the ideological swamp in which the party bureaucracy exists. The Bruchsal workers know very well who comrade Trotsky is and what he has contributed to the Russian revolution. We also know that Trotsky is right when he says that socialism cannot be built in one country. The workers of Bruchsal realize the difficult situation existing for Soviet Russia at the present through the Sino-Japanese conflict, after the Comintern leadership previously missed the revolutionary situation and left Russia an isolated country. Only the extension of the revolution on an international scale can liberate the world proletariat from capitalism, only in this manner can socialist construction be made secure and Soviet Russia defended against the threat of intervention. When the Stalinist bureaucrats characterize this theory as counter-revolutionary, then they only prove that they have thrown Marxism and Leninism overboard.

When these bureaucrats maintain that the Bruchsal comrades have committed a terrible crime by establishing the united front with the S. P. G. and trade union workers, then that only proves that they have left the road of Lenin, which is the only road by which we can escape the claws of capitalism. It is not the Left Oppositionists, but the bureaucrats of the C. P. G. who are the renegades. In closing, we want to call attention to the remarks of one Shaefer, a recent convert from the social democracy, at one of the meetings the bureaucracy arranged for him on his return from Soviet Russia. He said: When the C. P. G. comes into power, the Bruchsal comrades will be the first to be stood against the wall. All comment is superfluous.

The Lying Methods of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

When the Committee of Action consisting of the C. P. G. (Left Opposition), S. P. G. and factory representatives, called a mass meeting of the Bruchsal workers, in which comrade Paul Speck of the Left Opposition addressed the many trade union and S. P. G. workers who had come, the Bruchsal organ of the Centre (Bruen-

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ing) Party—the Bruchsaler Bote—wrote on November 9, 1931:

"The main speaker of the evening was the Communist alderman, Speck. He demanded united action on part of the S. P. G. and C. P. G. workers in a relentless struggle over the heads of the leaders, against emergency decrees, social reaction and Fascism. All power to the proletarians, he said, we must fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Bruening paper concluded the article in the following manner: "This is a warning to the social democrats. The social democratic party has taken a dangerous position, for it is not excluded that the Communists will make the attempt to radicalize the moderate social democratic workers. The leaders of the S. P. G. will know what we mean by this."

The Communist *Arbeiterzeitung* of Feb. 4, 1932, on the other hand, wrote concerning a Communist meeting, in which the Left Opposition comrades of Bruchsal presented their point of view, the following:

"The C. P. G. is being slandered by the Bruchsal Trotskyists. They are not much better in this than the social Fascists. It is therefore not at all strange that these frenzied petty bourgeois have established a united front with the S. P. G. and trade union fakers for the alleged purpose of fighting Fascism. According to them that is the same wise Bolshevik tactic that Lenin applied at the time of the Kornilov putsch. That is a base distortion of history. The Bruchsal workers, who are still following these people must realize the counter-revolutionary role of this S. P. G. agency. The workers must confide only in the C. P. G., the one revolutionary party."

The juxtaposition of both these articles shows very clearly what the correct Communist policy is. The Bruening people have realized the danger that they face in the united front tactic of the Communists. Therefore, their warning to the S. P. G. leaders and the mention of the radicalization of the S. P. G. followers by the Communists

If this is a counter-revolutionary tactic—despite the fact that it has clashed upon the opposition of the social democratic *Karlsruher Volksfreund*—what can be said of a tactic, which in contrast to the former, has not succeeded in preventing the formation of the "iron front", which has led to loss of influence among the workers of the S. P. G. and the trade unions?

A BRUCHSAL COMRADE.

Germany after the Presidential Elections

(Continued from last issue)

The C. P. G. has not been able to carry out extra-parliamentary actions for some time. Extremely weak in the factories, in the mass organizations of the proletariat, with a membership composed, from 75 to 80 per cent, of unemployed workers, with a Red Trade Union Opposition forming an ever more negligible minority of the working class as a whole, the party cannot conduct successful strikes or instigate extra-parliamentary action. The party bureaucracy also realizes this. That is why the activity of the C. P. G. was turned to the field of parliamentary action, that is why the party has been directed toward referendums and elections. By successes in the parliamentary elections, the Thaelmann leadership had hoped to conceal the catastrophic effects of its policies from the party membership. The party bureaucracy will, no doubt, once more attempt to attribute the guilt for the results to the rank and file, through the ruse of "Bolshevik self-criticism." But no arguments of the Thaelmann leadership will be able to change the fact that the results of March 13 signify the utter bankruptcy of the Thaelmann policy, the utter political impotence of the Comintern leadership and of its spiritual leader, Stalin.

The results of March 13 demand imperiously a complete turn on the part of the party, the complete renunciation of the present policy. Out with the theory of "socialism in one country", which is the root of all the evil in the policy of the Comintern and the C. P. G.! We must orientate ourselves toward the actual organization of the West European revolution. Out with the theory that the S. P. G. is the main enemy at present! That only leads to the conclusion that Fascism is the "Lesser Evil". The wheel must be turned toward: the erection of the united front between C. P. G., S. P. G., S. L. P. G., trade unions and the other decisive proletarian mass organizations. The theory of social Fascism must be uprooted, the trade union course changed completely, the R. T. U. O. policy must be given up, mass work must be carried on in the trade unions. It will not do for us to command the working class, we must struggle for the sympathies of the workers who are still outside the ranks of Communism for it is precisely upon them that the decision rests.

The German workers must utilize whatever time is still left, to make all the necessary preparations for the coming battle, which will be an extra-parliamentary battle. Fascism is not yet defeated, it is still struggling for power.

In international bourgeois opinion, Czechoslovakia has always signified a protective wall of peace and order. It arose on the ebb of the social and national struggle of the Czech petty bourgeoisie and workers against the Habsburg monarchy, the Roman church and the German bourgeoisie and out of the necessity of the entente powers to plant a military base between the dangerous countries of their defeated enemies in the war, between Germany, Austria and Hungary, from which side there was the threat of revenge struggles and revolutions against the new imperialist balance of power. In this sense, the bourgeois designation is to a certain extent correct. And even when the powerful wave of the industrial crisis swept over America and Europe in 1929, it appeared to be repelled by the "island of peace and order." The Czech bourgeoisie, which incorporated with its industrial and agrarian territories, the backward field and forest economy of Slovakia and the Carpathians as a sort of a substitute for the Austro-Hungarian customs field that it lost, and which exploited the national hopes of the Czech masses in order to lower the standards of living below the average of the West and Middle European countries, basing itself upon French imperialism to raise its commodity and capital export, at first appeared to escape the general economic misery. But it was soon to be proven that the shrinking of the foreign markets, the rise of the competitive and customs struggles among the international groups of capitalists and the decline of the purchasing power of the impoverished peasant masses inside the country would not fail to leave their effects upon the main industrial and commercial sections of Czechoslovakia.

The Economic Situation

The shutting down of factories has assumed tremendous proportions, the number of unemployed has risen, according to the official statistics, to some 600,000, the figure for the part time workers is even higher. In the most important branches of industry the number of the unemployed amounts to about half the number of those employed. At this, only workers organized in trade unions receive unemployment subsidies according to the Czechoslovakian system of unemployment insurance, so that only about one sixth of the unemployed receive a subsidy from the state at present, while the rest are dependent upon the support of the communities and the population as a whole. Unemployment has been extended even to functionaries and intellectuals. Bankruptcies among small merchants and tradesmen are on

the order of the day, the numerous middle peasantry is going under.

The balance of the state budget is shattered and has necessitated a foreign loan, which entrenches the dependence upon French imperialism even more firmly. Chained to the Western robbers, not a natural island but a piece chopped off with the axe of the world war from among similar pieces, bourgeois Czechoslovakia can secure neither peace with its neighbors, nor work and bread inside the country. In vain, the Czech petty bourgeoisie bubbles over with enthusiasm for a Middle European union, which is to form the heart of a unified, pan-European, bourgeois Europe and shine all over in the sign of Christ. In vain. For no matter how small the states involved are, the contradictions in the interests that separate the bourgeois rulers are all the greater and a peaceful unification of Middle Europe has as its pre-requisite the uprooting of the competitive interests of the textile manufacturers and hog raisers, of the grain merchants and heavy industrialists. But the root is precisely the private ownership of the means of production. The proletariat alone can serve as the axe.

Political Developments

If under all these circumstances in Czechoslovakia there nevertheless exists or rather—exists, a relative stability of the political regime, then this is to be explained not by the economic basis, but above all, by the conditions which permitted the Czech bourgeoisie to establish its state rule. It could realize its imperialist aims by exploiting the national revolutionary and petty bourgeois-democratic illusions of the masses of the people. It had the good fortune, not only to have under its sway patriotic National Socialists and social democrats, but even a leader at the head of the Communist party like the opportunist of European format, Smeral, who as late as 1923 defended the bourgeois democracy and the unity of the Czechoslovakian state against the oppressed nationalities. And when the advanced Czech workers had gathered sufficient experiences with their "democratic" and national bourgeoisie to crush this opportunism in the party, the leadership of the Comintern, which had in the meantime begun to sink into the morass of Stalinist centrism, hemmed the party which had proceeded in seriously purifying itself, in its development and cast it back into Smeralist opportunism.

Only thanks to this impurity within the party, could the Czech bourgeoisie escape from the most difficult situations without a serious struggle, since the party of the proletariat occupied itself with minor trade union struggles, without giving much thought to the questions of revolutionary strategy. In view of this myopia, the party remained impotent precisely at the moment at which the partial struggles grew into mass demonstrations (as in March 1928). When, later on, the adventurist course which had begun in February 1928 in the entire International, was imported into Czechoslovakia as well, it led to the big crash of the so-called Red Day. The impotence of the party policy was quite evident and spontaneous excitement seized the whole party membership. In order to save the face of the Comintern leadership, the Jilek leadership, which had obediently carried out the Moscow instructions, was sacrificed. The new leadership continued the policy of the Red Day and brought the adventurist policy to a high pitch in the leadership of strikes and by its trade union tactics, through which it facilitated the split of the red trade unions by the Right wing opportunists and renegades. By raving about immediate struggles for power precisely at the time when it was necessary to strengthen and to build up the positions of the party in the factories and the trade unions, the party leadership undermined its former positions and was in no condition to lead the dawning leftward movement of the working class along revolutionary channels.

With two half-hearted turns to the "right", the first in October 1930, by the readoption of the struggle for partial demands and the second in the fall of 1931, by a fifty per cent change in the united front and trade union tactics, the party sought, with a certain amount of success, to overcome its isolation, but could not change anything in the basically false strategic line. In order to understand this, we must cast a brief glance on the political situation in Czechoslovakia.

Present Political Currents

For several years there has been ruling in Czechoslovakia a broad coalition of Czech national democrats (the party of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie), the Czech and German agrarian capitalists, the Czech clerical party, the National Socialists (who in contradistinction to Hitler's National Socialists—are parliamentary democrats), the Czech and the German social democrats. The activities of this administration, in which there are six socialist ministers, are characterized above all, by the rise in the agrarian and industrial tariffs, the increase in the military budget, the decrease of the meagre social legislation, the suppression of the Communist press, the oppressive taxation against the tolling masses, especially the peasants in Slovakia and the Carpathians, and by shootings against defenseless workers,

even when they demonstrate merely for limited economic demands. The sharp procedure of the police and the gendarmerie appears to the workers to be all the more provocative, since the strike movements in the last few years have been, despite the official party reports, rather slight and have nowhere gone beyond the framework of local struggles.

In connection with the economic situation and the activities of the government, the voices of discontent among the reformist majority of the working class are constantly growing and find their expression in the meetings of the trade unions and the "socialist" parties. The economic successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and especially the fact that unemployment over there appears to have been overcome, are driving the masses toward the Communist party and open up tremendous possibilities for agitation and action on the part of the party. But the centrist party leadership is still repelling these vacillating masses, but not merely restricting itself to attacks on the trade union fakers, by declaring its intentions of "exterminating" the trade union organizations themselves, without being able to substitute for them anything but the puny "Red Trade Unions" which carry on local and isolated strikes from time to time with great advertisements, the results of which are by no means an attraction for the working masses. On the other hand, it is attempting to arouse the workers by abstract enthusiasm for Soviet Russia and to cure their reformist and bourgeois democratic illusions by strong words like "social Fascism." All that is achieved by this is the isolation of the Communist workers from the masses, the repulsion of the dissatisfied workers into the arms of the trade union bureaucrats or under the influence of the Fascists.

The Policy of the Left Opposition

In contrast to these tactics, the Left Opposition raises the demands flowing from the direct needs of the workers and demands a common struggle of all workers' organizations and especially of the trade unions on this basis. Against the coalition policy of the bourgeoisie, it counter-poses the unified struggle of the proletariat, to be led by democratically elected organs of the working class. In place of the phrases about social Fascism it offers a concrete explanation of the interconnection between the reformist party, parliamentarism and the economic domination of capital in general. Precisely by not restricting itself to exposing the fakeries of individual reformist leaders, as the Fascists and in imitation of them, the Stalin bureaucrats do, but rather by pointing out the basis of the capitalist system and by pointing to the road of the united struggle of the proletariat, the Left Opposition carries on the struggle against social democracy and Fascism in reality.

Prague, February 1932

—O. FRIEDMAN.

Debate in the Bronx

On Sunday April 10th at 2:00 P. M. there will be a debate in the Bronx on the subject of the Proletarian Dictatorship which should prove of interest to New York revolutionary workers. It is being arranged by the Industrial Union League and held under its auspices with a representative of the Left Opposition defending the Dictatorship.

The subject reads: "Resolved that in the United States a Dictatorship of the Proletariat is Unnecessary." The affirmative side in the debate is taken by Samuel Brandon representing the Industrial Union League and the negative side by Arne Swaback of the Communist League of America (Opposition). It will be held at the Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect Ave., Bronx, N. Y. The admission is only 10c.

The Proletarian Dictatorship is a subject of dispute of long standing between Communists and socialists, and, for that matter also, many industrial unionists. For us it is a settled question, but it would be assuming too much to maintain that this is the case with the working class in general. There is still dispute, even on its theoretical aspect. Often views are expressed somewhat as follows: "A Proletarian Dictatorship may be alright for Russia, which was an economically backward country; but in a highly advanced industrial country, like the United States, it is not necessary,—or else, its place will be taken by the industrial union." On a whole this question is yet one of vital importance to all workers. It is a vital part of the problems of the revolution in America. With this in mind we particularly urge the New York workers to attend this debate.

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—ROMAN WELL.

EDITORIAL NOTES

SCOTTSBORO

The Scottsboro case reveals American capitalism in one of its most hideous aspects, and offers to the Communists an exceptional opportunity to deal the whole system a mighty, world-resounding blow. The deliberately-planned assassination of the unfortunate negro children is notice to the entire world that imperialist America, this pretended pacifist and friend of justice, is in fact a monster. The endeavor to thwart its bloody designs in the present case calls out the deepest and best human instincts. The words solidarity and justice acquire fresh values, they become new again in the struggle for the liberation of the helpless young negro boys who await their fate in the Alabama jail. It is hard to think of a cause that could appeal more strongly to the hearts of the workers and all the oppressed than that of these obscure and friendless symbols of a doubly persecuted race and class.

From the revolutionary standpoint, the struggle, of course, goes far beyond the immediate objectives of the court appeals. To save the lives of the intended victims and restore their liberty is indeed our aim; but the only hope of accomplishing this is to set a really immense movement into motion. And such an achievement could have great implications for the strengthening of the Communist influence over the workers and the Negro masses. All of this is bound up together with the concrete fight for the freedom of the prisoners. To separate the one from the other, as the liberal and socialist snivellers try to do, would only make the sacrifice of the prisoners doubly certain.

The problem consists primarily in the mobilization of the white workers for the fight. In our opinion it is incorrect to view the Scottsboro case as a "Negro issue"; it is wrong to direct the main agitation toward the negro people and concrete the organization work around them, including their churches and lodges. Such a tactic will not be able to arouse a movement of the necessary breadth and power. And, moreover, it will fail even to make the desired impression on the Negro people.

There is no doubt that the Negro masses burn with indignation at the Scottsboro outrage and suffer their own thousand-fold wrongs again in sympathy with the prisoners. But along with that they cannot help being conscious of their position as a hopeless racial minority. What they need to inspire them for struggle is the prospect, or at least the hope, of victory. Direct agitation alone will never suffice for this. The sight of a significant movement of white workers fighting on their side is the agitator that will really move the Negroes and make them accessible to the Communist organizers of that movement.

The central problem of the Scottsboro defense movement is the organization of

the white workers for the fight. Once a good start is made along this line, the enlistment of huge Negro contingents in the common struggle will be a comparatively simple matter. In this question, as in every important undertaking in the class struggle, the trade union movement exhibits its decisive importance. The trade unions ought to be alive at this moment with Communist agitation on the Scottsboro case. Here is an unexampled opportunity to explain to the organized workers the necessity of solidarity with their black brothers, and to dramatize the argument with the monstrous story of Scottsboro.

Assuming a Communist Party that knows how to work in the trade unions, a big response can be expected from this agitation. The sympathies of the organized workers can be quickly crystallized into a net-work of conferences. The movement of the unions in this direction will give a tremendous impetus to the propaganda among the Negroes; they will join in the movement with enthusiasm and hope. The concrete demonstrations of white and Negro solidarity, ominously foreshadowing their coming union in the revolution, will impress the judicial hirelings more than a thousand lawyers' briefs; will make them pause and weigh the possible consequences of their murders. The Communists, as the organizers and leaders of the unprecedented demonstration, as the loyal and capable champions of the most oppressed and persecuted, will gain an enormous prestige.

In such a perspective there is nothing fantastic. It assumes merely an active Communist party which understands the essence of the Negro question, which applies the tactic of the united front, and has not isolated itself from the trade union movement. Even in the present situation the deficiencies can be made up by a timely correction of policy. The best way to serve the Scottsboro case is to press for this.

WHY SO HOT?

We have been watching with considerable interest, and even with a little alarm, the steadily rising temperature of the editors of the *Workers' Age* about "the poison of chauvinism" which is seeping into the Party in their absence. If it is a real fever, and if it hangs on much longer and continues to get hotter, something is bound to happen, either to the patient or to the thermometer.

Of course, it may be an artificial temperature. We have heard of such cases. A few years ago a girl in the middle West baffled the doctors with what appeared to be a chronic fever, far higher in degree than the human system normally can withstand. Every time they took her temperature the thermometer registered 110 or over. In spite of that the patient appeared to remain hale and hearty and in good appetite, as everybody will admit is the case with the

burned-up Lovestonettes. The mystery was solved when the doctors caught the patient napping and discovered that her temperature had been induced by hot water bags concealed about her person. She was only fooling.

If the Right wingers are simulating delirium by some dodge of this nature, an extenuating circumstance must be acknowledged: it is not often that they have a chance to get excited about the opportunism of other people. And they naturally make the most of it. We now learn from the *Workers' Age* that the Stalinists' demand for the expulsion of the Japanese diplomats from America is chauvinistic, and that chauvinism in turn is "the crassest form of opportunism." This is precisely the way they characterized "Trotskyism" a few years ago. But, as the saying goes, every season has its vegetable, and we will not stop to quibble over definitions. The point now is that the Lovestonettes, viewing the present situation darkly, expect things to get worse and worse. Chauvinism, they say, "is being pumped into the veins of our Party, in ever greater quantities and in ever more virulent forms."

Are they really so disturbed? And if so, why? It is true that the slogan of the Party leaders is a false one, and it is likewise true that it contains the germ of a social-patriotic deviation. But the motivation of the slogan is far from outright chauvinism. As a matter of fact it is not inspired directly by the attitude of the Stalinists toward American imperialism, but by their mistaken conception of the defense of the Soviet Union, which they disconnect from its basic foundation of internationalism and international revolution. Under the tutelage and corrupting pressure of Stalin these ex-revolutionists and hired functionaries have replaced proletarian internationalism with the theory of socialism in one country. "Socialism" is to be built in the Soviet Union, and the mission of the Comintern is . . . to prevent intervention. The revolutionary workers in the other countries are assigned to the debasing role of pacifist frontier guards.

Motivated by these conceptions, the Stalinists of the American Party, imagining the chief danger to the Soviet Union at the moment to be an attack by Japan (and there also mistakenly), can think of nothing else but to concentrate their attack on Japanese imperialism. The conclusion is not without a certain logic. It is false because the theory from which it flows is false to the core.

But the Right wing were united with the Stalin Centrists in the manufacture of this counterfeited theory, and they still defend it no less ardently. National socialism is the foundation theory of Right wing politics. That is why their agitation against a slogan that derives from this theory sounds the more artificial as it increases in volume. This suggests the idea that they have a perfect control over their own fever. In this case an early return to normalcy on their part may be expected.

—J. P. C.

Book Review:

THE STRANGE CAREER OF MR. HOOVER—Under Two Flags

By John S. Hamill. Wm. Faro, Inc. 384 pages, \$3.75

This book is a forerunner of a series of books now published on the life of Hoover. In spite of its attempt at sensationalism throughout, the book has value in portraying the character of the individual who stands at the head of the American government. To the author the character of Hoover is responsible for the present crisis and the general difficulties confronting the economic life of the country. The individual is all-important and therein lies the explanation of everything—that is the explanation of Hamill. If someone else were president things would be different. With this approach we have nothing in common. We regard the individual as part of the system of capitalism and its politics. We are concerned with the why and wherefore of the choice of the capitalist party at the helm of the government. In this sense the book offers an excellent explanation. It shows Hoover in his true light—as the individual who is best suited to lead his class and follow the dictates of Wall Street. More than that it is a profound exhibit of Hoover's class ideology and his hatred for the working class.

The book begins with Hoover's orphanage and his boyhood life with his uncle, a real estate "shark", in Oregon. His uncle was in the business of selling real estate that never existed. The town where these lots were supposed to be, could not be found to this day, even by the official surveyors of the government. Hoover got his first training here. His uncle, a fraudulent land speculator was his first teacher.

At that time the Leland Stanford University was being organized and Hoover was dispatched there as a student. The records of the school show him to be an extremely poor student who could not master the rudiments of English. Here he studied geology, on the basis of which he later passed off as a mining engineer. But a school just organized could not afford to fail its students and Hoover was graduated notwithstanding his poor scholastic achievements.

The most important turning point in his life was his job with the Bewick Moreing & Co. of London. This concern dealt in mine speculations. Hoover was hired not as geologist but as "a claim jumper, a snooper and a spy." In a word he was to be a promoter for this company. His work consisted in going to Australia as their "mining engineer" to send in reports on the conditions of the gold mines owned and promoted by this dubious company, whose standing in London's financial circles was extremely low. There his task consisted of sending in glowing reports of gold to be mined. On the basis of his reports which were published, new stock was put on the market to be sold. When the public had been sufficiently duped, stock

sold for hundreds of thousands of dollars, Hoover's task then turned to that of sending in detrimental reports. The result of these reports would be a decline in the stock values of this or that company. The "insiders" knowing the outcome in advance, would sell out their stock and leave the "public holding the bag." Or the process was worked in the reverse. With a poor mine that would not yield repayment for initial work, Hoover was to send in reports showing that these mines would yield anywhere from twenty to hundred percent profit. Again stocks sold by the hundreds of thousands. The "insiders" were becoming rich—the public duped again and left "holding the bag." This was the manner in which Hoover served his apprenticeship with this company until he became one of its partners. He had proven himself.

The whole history of his work was that of manipulating stocks to the advantage of Moreing, Stanley Rowe, himself and one or two others. Once a partner, Hoover began to show more interest in the work. In Australia he becomes known as a hater of labor. There he attempts to get the ban on Asiatic labor lifted in order to bring in cheap labor from the Orient with the object of destroying the then powerful Australian miners' union. On failing in this attempt, he begins a campaign "against the present high rates of working costs." In other words, lowering wages, increasing working hours, and refusing to make better the working conditions of the mines. The death rate among the miners grows at an alarming pace. He wrote at that time: "The disregard for human life permits mining by economy in timber and the aggrieved relatives are amply compensated by the regular payment of \$30 per man lost." And again, "men were cheaper than timber."

The company expands. In China Hoover's object was exploiting and robbing the Chinese of their holdings. He participated in the steal of the Kaiping Coal mines, even to personally rob a safe to steal deeds covering the ownership of this rich mine. We find him in South Africa promoting fake mines and filching the small stockholders of Britain. The "promoter" together with his associates conceived of a daring plan. Why not hire coolie labor to work the mines in the Transvaal region. The big campaign begins. In China the workers are promised a virtual fairyland if they would agree to work in the Transvaal mines. The result: 200,000 Chinese were sold into slavery. Hoover's Chinese Engineering and Mining Co., Ltd. did the job. And why not? They received \$10 for each Chinaman secured and \$25 each for passage to South Africa on their own ships. From Johannesburg he wrote the following, describing this slave business as: "the great science of extracting the greatest possible amount of money from some other human being."

The war breaks out. Hoover discovers

another "business". Preying on the charity angle we see him now organizing the food relief to Belgium. This "job" consisted of buying huge food supplies, secured through the money raised by exploiting the sentiments of the people during the war, and then selling this food to Belgium at huge profits. It was easily done, since the head of the Belgian Relief was his business associate, Francqui, who assumed the role of the virtual dictator of Belgium in those days—the government having moved its capital to northern France upon the occupation of Belgium by the Germans. But it was precisely in those years that Belgium experienced the largest crops and during the first years of the war had more than sufficient food. Through arrangements with the Germans, the Belgium produce was to be sent to Germany, and the food Hoover supplied was to go to Belgium. Germany paid for its food to Belgium and Belgium paid for its food to Hoover. Between Francqui and himself the spoils were divided.

The rest of his career is well known. He returned to the States after twenty years' absence. He was made. Hoover becomes a "worker" for the government. He becomes a member of Harding's cabinet and participates in the infamous oil scandal. The myth of the "great engineer" is thrown at the people. He is elected president and in that capacity has more than once exhibited his intense hatred for the working class.

Hamill effectively destroys the myth of the "engineer" who was really a promoter and who in all the years of his business life helped in a grand steal that even made the ordinary business "ethics" blush with shame. The author points out a mining engineer must know chemistry, physics, mechanics, electricity, assaying, metallurgy—and all of these Hoover was totally ignorant. But he was suited for his job with Bewick, Moreing & Co. He manipulated stocks, welched on his debts, was sued by China for his steal of the Kaiping Mines and through these years developed into the fit candidate of president.

He stands out today, built up by a great organizing campaign, as an able representative of the capitalists with an intense hatred of the working class. He is a typical representative of Wall Street who adorns the presidential chair with all the qualities needed for one whose job consists of leading his class against the workers. Selling Chinese workers into slavery, manipulating stocks, fraudulent mine promotions, sponging on charity and the sentiments of the people built up during a war period, making himself rich by intense exploitation of mine workers he has succeeded—from promoter to president; really not a strange career at all.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

HELP DEFEND THE KENTUCKY MINERS

The Harlan Kentucky miners are still on trial for their lives. They need your help. It can be given by collecting funds for their defense. Send all funds to General Defense Committee, 555 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

by LEON TROTSKY

The XIth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. came to the decision that it was imperative to put an end to those erroneous views which originate in "the liberal interpretation of the contradictions between Fascism and bourgeois democracy and the outright Fascist forms" . . . The gist of this Stalinist philosophy is quite plain: from the Marxist denial of the *absolute* contradiction it deduces the *general* negation of the contradiction, even of the *relative* contradiction. This error is typical of vulgar radicalism. For if there be no contradiction *whatsoever* between democracy and Fascism,—even in the sphere of the *form* of the rule of the bourgeoisie,—then these two régimes obviously enough must be equivalent. Whence the conclusion social democracy=Fascism. For some reason, however, social democracy is dubbed *social* Fascism. And the meaning of the term "social" in this connection has been left unexplained to this very moment.*

Nevertheless, the nature of things does not change in accordance with the decisions of the E. C. C. I. plenums. A contradiction does exist between democracy and Fascism. It is not at all "absolute", or, putting it in the language of Marxism, it doesn't at all denote the rule of two irreconcilable classes. But it does denote different systems of the domination of one and the same class. These two systems: the one, parliamentary-democratic; the other, Fascist, derive their support from different combinations of the oppressed and exploited classes; and they unavoidably come to a sharp clash with each other.

The social democracy, which is today the chief representative of the parliamentary-bourgeois régime, derives its support from the workers. Fascism is supported by the petty bourgeoisie. The social democracy without the mass organizations of the workers can have no influence. Fascism cannot intrench itself in power without annihilating the workers' organizations. The parliament is the main arena of the social democracy. The system of Fascism is based upon the destruction of parliamentarism. For the monopolistic bourgeoisie, the parliamentary and Fascist régimes represent only different vehicles of dominion; it has recourse to one or the other, depending upon the historical conditions. But for both the social democracy and Fascism, the choice of one or the other vehicle has an independent significance, more than that, for them it is a question of political life or death.

At the moment that the "normal" police and military resources of the bourgeois dictatorship, together

with their parliamentary screens, no longer suffice to hold society in a state of equilibrium—the turn of the Fascist régime arrives. Through the Fascist agency, capitalism sets in motion the masses of the crazed petty bourgeoisie, and bands of the de-classed and demoralized lumpenproletariat; all the countless human beings whom finance capital itself has brought to desperation and frenzy. From Fascism the bourgeoisie demands a thorough job; once it has resorted to methods of civil war, it insists on having peace for a period of years. And the Fascist agency by utilizing the petty bourgeoisie as a battering ram, by overwhelming all obstacles in its path, does a thorough job. After Fascism is victorious, finance capital gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly and immediately, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative and educational powers of the state: the entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the co-operatives. When a state turns Fascist, it doesn't only mean that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the patterns set by Mussolini—the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role—but it means, first of all for the most part, that the workers organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of Fascism.

The above is not at all contradicted by the fact that, during a given period, between the democratic and the Fascist systems, a transitional régime is established, which combines the features of both: such, in general, is the law that governs the displacement of one social system by another, even though they are irreconcilably inimical to each other. There are periods during which the bourgeoisie leans upon both the social democracy and Fascism, that is, during which it simultaneously manipulates its electoral and terroristic agencies. Such, in a certain sense, was the government of Kerensky during the last months of its existence, when it leaned partly on the Soviets and at the same time conspired with Kornilov. Such is the government of Bruening as it dances on a tightrope between two irreconcilable camps, balancing itself with the emergency decrees instead of a pole. But such a condition of the state and of the administration is

temporary in character. It signals the transition period, during which the social democracy is on the verge of exhausting its mission, while, in that same period, neither Communism nor Fascism is ready as yet to seize power.

The Italian Communists, who have had to study the problems of Fascism for a long time, have protested time and again against the wide-spread abuse of these concepts. Formerly, at the VIth Congress of the Comintern, Ercoli was still formulating views on the question of Fascism which are now credited as "Trotskyist". Ercoli at that time defined Fascism as being the most thorough and uncompromising system of reaction, and he explained: "this administration supports itself not by the cruelty of its terroristic acts, not by murdering large numbers of workers and peasants, not by applying on a large scale varied methods of brutal torture, not by the severity of its law courts; but it depends upon the systematic annihilation of each and every form of the independent organization of the masses." In this Ercoli is absolutely correct: the gist of Fascism and its task consist in a complete suppression of all workers' organizations and in the prevention of their revival. In a developed capitalist society this goal cannot be achieved by police methods alone. There is only one method for it and that is by directly opposing the pressure of the proletariat—the moment it weakens—by the pressure of the desperate masses of the petty bourgeoisie. It is this particular system of capitalist reaction that has entered history under the name of Fascism.

"All questions as to the relation between Fascism and social democracy," wrote Ercoli, "belong to the same sphere (the irreconcilability of Fascism with the existence of workers' organizations). It is in this relation that Fascism clearly differentiates itself from all other reactionary régimes established hitherto in the contemporary capitalist world. It rejects all compromise with the social democracy; it persecutes it relentlessly; it deprives it of all legal means of existence; it forces it to emigrate."

So reads an article published in the leading organs of the Comintern! Subsequently, Manuilsky buzzed in Molotov's ear the great idea of "the third period". France, Germany and Poland were assigned to "the front rank of the revolutionary offensive." The seizure of power was proclaimed to be the immediate task. And since, in the face of the uprising of the proletariat, all parties, except the Communist, are counter-revolutionary, it was no longer necessary to distinguish between Fascism and social democracy. The theory of social Fascism was ordained. And the functionaries of the Comintern lost no time in re-aligning themselves. Ercoli made haste to prove that precious as truth was to him, Molotov was more precious, and he . . . wrote a report in defense of the theory of

social Fascism. "The Italian social democracy", he announced in February 1930, "turns Fascist with the greatest readiness." Alas, the functionaries of official Communism turn flunkies even more readily.

As was to be expected, our criticism of the theory and application of "the third period" was decreed counter-revolutionary. Nevertheless, the cruel experiences that cost the proletarian vanguard dearly, forced an about face in this sphere also. "The third period" was pensioned off, and so was Molotov himself—from the Comintern. But the theory of social Fascism remained behind as the lone ripe fruit of the third period. No changes could take place here: only Molotov was tied up with the third period; but Stalin himself was enmeshed in social Fascism.

DIE ROTE FAHNE begins its researches into social Fascism with Stalin's words, "Fascism is the military organization of the bourgeoisie which leans upon the social democracy for active support. The social democracy, objectively speaking, is the moderate wing of Fascism." Objectively speaking, it is a habit with Stalin, when he attempts to generalize, to contradict the first phrase by the second and to conclude in the second what doesn't at all follow from the first. There is no debating that the bourgeoisie leans on the social democracy, and that Fascism is a military organization of the bourgeoisie; and this has been remarked upon a long time ago. The only conclusion which follows from this is that the social democracy as well as Fascism are the tools of the big bourgeoisie. How the social democracy becomes thereby also a "wing" of Fascism is incomprehensible. Equally profound is another observation by the same author: Fascism and social democracy are not enemies, they are twins. Now twins may be the bitterest enemies: while on the other hand allies need not be born necessarily on one and the same day and from identical parents. Stalin's constructions lack even formal logic, to say nothing of dialectics. Their strength lies in the fact that none dares challenge them.

(Continued in next issue)

—L. TROTSKY.

* Metaphysicians (people who do not reason dialectically) assign to one and the same abstraction two, three or more designations, often directly contradictory. "Democracy" in general and "Fascism" in general, so we are told, are in no way distinguished from one another. But in addition there must also exist in the world, on this account, "the dictatorship of workers and peasants" (for China, India, Spain). Proletarian dictatorship? No! Capitalist dictatorship, perhaps? No! What then? A *democratic* one! Somewhere in the universe, it appears, there exists a pure classless democracy. Yet according to the XIth plenum of the E. C. C. I., democracy differs in no wise from Fascism. That being so, wherein does "the democratic dictatorship" differ from . . . the Fascist dictatorship?

Only a person utterly naive will expect to get a serious and an honest answer to this fundamental question from the Stalinists: they'll let loose a few more choice epithets—and that's all. And meanwhile the fate of the revolutions in the Orient is tied up with this question.